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Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.

In the order of a kind Providence, we are permitted, this evening, to celebrate the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. While with grateful hearts, we acknowledge the goodness of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, under whose special superintendence our cause has continued to progress, we are called to bow in humble submissiveness to His sovereign will, in view of the afflictive dispensations of His providence, by which this Society has been deprived of the living example and co-operation of several of its warmest friends and most devoted advocates. Three of these were Vice Presidents of the Society—the Rt. Hon. LORD BEXLEY of England, who for many years was a zealous advocate and generous supporter of the cause in which we are engaged, and whose influence tended in no small degree to advance the interests of the Republic of Liberia in Great Britain; the REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D.D., of Princeton, N. J., whose

fame is in all the churches; and who was an earnest and practical advocate of the African colonization enterprise from its formation to the time of his death; regarding it as of God, and consequently worthy of the hearty co-operation of all who desire to be laborers together with Him in carrying out the great object of His providential arrangement with respect to that particular class of the human family for whose benefit the enterprise was originated; and the REV. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., LL.D., who for several years previous to his death, occupied the distinguished position of President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., and whose fame as an eminent divine, and devoted practical philanthropist, will be handed down to posterity, embalmed with the grateful remembrance and admiration of the lovers of moral grandeur and Christian purity. Nor are these all of the warm friends and generous patrons of this Society who have been removed by death since our last Anniversary.

We have been called upon to record the departure of others; among whom we may make special allusion to the HON. JAMES McDOWELL, ex-Governor of Virginia, who was long and familiarly known as an eloquent advocate of African colonization; the REV. THOMAS H. GALLAUDET, D.D. LL.D., of Connecticut, universally known as the founder of Deaf and Dumb Institutions in the United States, and numbered among the warmest friends of this Society; JOSIAH SHEDD, M. D., of Peacham, Vermont, who left a legacy of \$4,000 to the Society; THOMAS D. MERRILL of Concord, N. H., who bequeathed \$1,000 to the Society; ABRAHAM G. THOMPSON of New York, who by will made this Society one of his residuary legatees, by which we hope to realize upwards of \$30,000; NATHANIEL STORRS of Boston, who also made this Society a residuary legatee of his estate, from which we shall probably derive \$5,000, or more; AUGUSTUS GRAHAM of Brooklyn, N. Y., who bequeathed to this Society the sum of \$10,000 "to be invested in some safe and productive manner, the income and interest of which is to be annually applied towards the support and establishment of schools in Liberia;" and Miss SARAH WALDO of Worcester, Mass., from the executors of whose estate we have already received \$6,000, the amount

of a legacy left by her to this Society; which amount, added to \$7,000 received from the estate of her sister Elizabeth, who made this Society one of her residuary legatees, together with the legacy of \$10,000 received from the estate of her brother, the Hon. Daniel Waldo, the decease of both of whom was noticed in a former Report, makes \$23,000 received by bequest from these three benevolent and exemplary friends of the colonization enterprise; besides numerous liberal donations made during their lifetime.

In addition to these liberal bequests, we have had intimations of other legacies made, or to be made, to this Society; which shows that the importance of the colonization enterprise is not lost sight of by some of the Christian philanthropists of our country, who desire to return to Him from whom cometh every good gift, the substance with which, in the order of his providence, they have been favored.

The total amount of the receipts of the Society from all sources, during the past year, were \$97,443.77—a much larger amount than was received during any preceding year; which, however, includes the sum of \$37,800 received from the United States Government by virtue of an act of Congress passed at the last session for the relief of the American Colonization Society, in consideration of various expenses in-

curring and means used by this Society in the care and support of the liberated Africans who were landed at Monrovia from the slave-ship "Pons," in December, 1845.

During the past year, we have sent 676 emigrants to Liberia. Had we not been partially thwarted by circumstances beyond our control, in reference to the emigration, during the past year, of others whom we expected to send, and who will probably go during the present year, the total number of emigrants for the year 1851 would have been considerably greater.

Of the whole number sent during the year, 405 were free born, 232 were emancipated, and 39 purchased their own freedom or were purchased by their friends.

The first company sailed from New Orleans in the brig *Alida* on the 13th February, 1851, consisting of 139 emigrants; 83 of whom were emancipated by different persons in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, including 36 by William W. Rice, Esq., who liberally provided for their comfort. 52 of the remaining 56 were born free, and 4 purchased their own freedom.

The second expedition sailed from Savannah, Geo., in the barque *Baltimore* on the 10th April, consisting of 126 emigrants; of whom 93 were born free, 20 who were born slaves had purchased their own freedom or

were purchased by their friends, and the remaining 13 were emancipated by different persons in Georgia. Some of these emigrants were men of considerable intelligence and enterprise. One of them, Edward Hall, of Savannah, who had purchased his own freedom and that of his wife and two brothers, carried with him a *steam saw-mill*, in which several of the other emigrants were interested as shareholders. This was the first steam mill ever sent to Liberia. It was located in Sinou county; and from recent advices, we are encouraged to believe that the enterprise will be attended with success, and will prove to be of great advantage to the young Republic.

The brig *Sea Mew*, which sailed from New York on the 13th March, took out 15 emigrants from Williamsburg and Brooklyn, all born free except 2 who purchased their freedom.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore on the 20th July, with 56 emigrants, of whom 42 were born free, 3 purchased their freedom, and 11 were emancipated by different persons in Maryland and Virginia. Several of this company were intelligent and enterprising men from the city of Baltimore.

By the barque *Zeno*, which sailed from New York on the 27th September, 36 emigrants were sent, all of

whom were born free, except 3 who purchased their freedom.

The sixth expedition sailed from Baltimore in the barque *Morgan Dix*, the 1st November, consisting of 149 emigrants; of whom 97 were free-born, principally from the valley of Virginia, 6 purchased their freedom, and 46 were emancipated, including 33 by the will of the late Miss Margaret Miller of Culpeper County, Virginia. One of this company, John Smith, a good practical engineer from Winchester, and others composing a joint stock company, carried with them a *steam saw-mill*, to be established in Grand Bassa County—the second one sent out during the year.

The seventh expedition was sent in the *Liberia Packet* which sailed from Baltimore on the 31st December, having on board 63 emigrants. The Packet touched at Savannah and received 92 more emigrants, making in all 155; of whom 75 were born free, 1 purchased his freedom, and 79 were emancipated by different persons in Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, including 50 from the estate of the late John W. Houghton, of Augusta, Georgia.

We have received many evidences that throughout the entire country there is a growing interest in favor of African Colonization; and a stronger conviction that the American Colonization Society occupies a high position among the various benevolent

institutions of this eminently philanthropic age. Its former opponents are beginning to view it in the true light—as an institution founded in wisdom, under the direction of an overruling Providence, and adapted to place the free colored people of the United States in a position in which they can enjoy all the privileges and blessings of freedom—privileges from which they are virtually debarred in every part of this country, and blessings which they can fully enjoy no where else than in Liberia.

It is also evident that the free people of color in this country are becoming more and more conscious of their real position and prospects, and are beginning seriously to ponder the subject of voluntary emigration to a land in which no barriers to political exaltation exist, and no impediments to the free exercise of all the privileges of social equality—a land in which the mind can act without restraint, and in which incentives to a laudable ambition may operate without the trammeling influences of conventional rules, established by the white inhabitants of this land, and clearly recognised in every part of the country. Notwithstanding the show of opposition made by some of them whose minds have become imbued with a prejudice which cannot be easily eradicated; yet in many parts of the country, intelligent men among them are

earnestly engaged in trying to work out the problem of their destiny, with minds open to conviction, and judgments unbiassed by the influence of agencies avowedly opposed to the colonization enterprise. And we doubt not that within a few years there will be a far more extensive movement among the free colored people of the United States in favor of emigration, than has ever yet been witnessed;—a movement which will doubtless be speedily and practically exhibited in the event of the successful issue of the plan for the establishment of a line of steamships to ply regularly between this country and Liberia.

We perceive, with pleasure, that in several of the States, the chief executive officers, in their communications to the Legislatures, have strongly recommended the American Colonization Society, as the only organized agency which has contributed to produce practical results beneficial to the African race; and, consequently, as worthy of approval and encouragement.

From Liberia, our advices, received from time to time, during the past year, are of a very encouraging character, especially in view of the agricultural prosperity of the Republic. Since the establishment of the present form of government, the citizens of Liberia have appeared to be more fully aroused to the consideration of the superlative impor-

tance of agricultural operations; and we have received frequent evidences of the increasing attention given to the cultivation of the soil; on which chiefly depends the prosperity of any country. Their commerce is also steadily increasing. The cause of education is receiving increased attention; and during the past year, most of the churches have been blessed with extensive revivals of religion. Over the surrounding native inhabitants of the country, the influence for good which the citizens of Liberia are exerting, is becoming more and more perceptible. Through the mediation of the Liberian Government, several of the belligerent native tribes have been induced to lay down their weapons of warfare; and thousands of the benighted inhabitants of that land of superstition and degradation have thus been rescued from the agonies of a violent death, or the horrors of the nefarious slave-trade; which latter, in most cases, has given rise to those mercenary and cruel wars that have for centuries devastated that land; and which the Liberians are determined to abolish forever from all the territory over which they may, from time to time, acquire jurisdiction.

The political jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia extends over a tract of country on the Western coast of Africa, from the mouth of

the Shebar river on the north, (which is near the southern boundary of the British colony of Sierra Leone,) to the northern boundary of "Maryland in Liberia," a distance along the sea-coast of about 500 miles, which, added to the territory within the jurisdiction of the Maryland Colony, makes the sea-board extent of the two governments about 600 miles. The present emigrant population of the Republic is about six to seven thousand, and the number of native inhabitants residing within the territory of the Republic, is probably one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand; many of whom, through the example, influence and agency of the citizens and government of Liberia, have

not only been brought within the pale of civilization, but also to a practical realization of the sublime truths and transcendent blessings of our holy Christianity. Thus we believe the civilization and christianizing of the degraded aborigines of Africa are to be chiefly effected, in the order of Divine Providence—by the example, influence and agency of her own returning civilized and Christian children. Thus shall the belligerent hordes of that land of moral desolation be induced to convert their instruments of warfare into implements of husbandry; thus shall the slave trade be effectually and forever suppressed; and thus shall Ethiopia be taught to stretch out her hands unto God.

Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Col. Society.

WASHINGTON, }
January 20, 1852. }

The thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held in the First Presbyterian Church, on Tuesday evening, the 20th January, 1852.

In the absence of the Hon. Henry Clay, President of the Society, the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

On taking the chair, Mr. Webster made the following remarks in reference to the necessary absence of the President of the Society:

Gentlemen of the American

Colonization Society:

There is not only no member of this Association, but also no citizen of the country, who does not lament, and no one laments more deeply than I do, the cause to which it is to be ascribed that I have been called upon to-night to occupy the Chair of this Association. That eminent, that distinguished, I will say that illustrious fellow-citizen of ours, who was one of the early founders of this institution, who has now for so many years manifested his sense of its importance and his zeal for its success, is, by continued illness, deprived of the opportunity, not only of being here to-night, as the President of the Society,

but also has been, and still is, prevented from exercising his usual salutary influence in the councils of the country.

Gentlemen, it is now many years since this Society was formed and organized and put into successful operation by eminent persons, of whom he was one. His opinion of its usefulness, his zeal for its advancement and prosperity are known to you all; and I am sure that there is no deeper sympathy in the heart or feeling of any person present than in my own, that Providence, in His wisdom, may see fit to restore him to his accustomed ability of patriotic service in the national councils, and of devoted care for this institution.

Let us, gentlemen, implore the Throne of Grace and of Mercy, not only for his restoration to health, but for the usefulness and prosperity of this Association. The Rev. Dr. Butler will be pleased to open the meeting with prayer.

The Rev. C. M. Butler, D. D., then addressed the Throne of Grace.

After which, the Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society, read an abstract of the Annual Report.

The Hon. FREDERIC P. STANTON, of Tennessee, was then introduced. He offered the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That African Colonization, as pursued by this Society, is of national importance; and that its plans and operations strongly commend themselves, by their success, to the favor and encouragement of the General Government.

This resolution was supported by Mr. STANTON in the following address:

In common with you, Mr. President, and all who heard your feeling and eloquent

allusion to the circumstance which places you in that chair, I lament the melancholy cause of the absence of the regular President of this Society. But whatever may be the design of Providence towards him—whether to remove him from amongst us, or to restore him again to the bosom of society, and to that activity which is peculiar to him in the affairs of our country and at the head of this association, there is one thing at least, which must afford to him the highest satisfaction, as it does to us all—and that is, he has lived to a period when every one can distinctly foresee the brilliant success of those labors for colonization, in which he has had so great a share. He is permitted to look over upon the promised land, and to behold the near fulfillment of all his humane wishes in regard to the free colored people of the United States.

From the report just read by the Secretary, it is plain that the affairs of this society, were never before in so flourishing a condition. The attention of the country has been drawn to its operations; and the public interest in all sections of the land, has been so vividly awakened, that a new and powerful impulse must be given to it, and the movement which originated some thirty-five years ago and which has struggled along slowly during that period, must now assume an increased velocity and momentum towards the accomplishment of its great end.

There are many things which have contributed to produce this feeling of interest on the part of the people of the United States. First, and perhaps the most important, is the great fact—the fundamental fact—which I think is now established beyond doubt, that the plans originated and pursued by this Society are feasible—that the colonization of Africa by the free blacks of this country is a practicable scheme.—The success of the Liberian colony is un-

questionable. Silently and slowly, under your auspices, has this infant establishment pursued its course, until it now begins to acquire a certain degree of strength and respectable importance. The steady progress of the Colony, the prudence and good sense of its government, have inspired confidence everywhere. Self government on the part of the civilized blacks is no longer altogether an experiment—or if it be still an experiment, it is one which gives promise of great success and invites a still more extensive scale of operations. What are the evidences of this success? Growth, expansion, stability, influence—adding new acquisitions and extending its jurisdiction; suppressing the slave trade; cultivating friendship with the native tribes and settling their disputes, and to some extent absorbing and of course civilizing the native population; fostering agriculture and commerce, and thus gradually developing the resources of a country, which is now proved to be rich in all the elements necessary to sustain a large and prosperous population. I speak of these things generally, for it is unnecessary to mention the particular facts, which are known to every intelligent gentleman in this association.

Now this improvement has been accomplished under great disadvantages and in spite of great difficulties. Compare the growth of this colony at its present age, with the growth of any other known in history, and the comparison will be found to be highly favorable to the colony of Liberia. It is very true this colonization has taken place in the nineteenth century with the advantage of all the great improvements of the day. It is true this colony has had the favor of this government, and to a certain extent, the favor of most of the great civilized governments of the earth. But when you take into consideration the physical conformation of the African Con-

continent—that which has undoubtedly been powerfully influential in preventing its civilization up to the present time—you cannot fail to see the great obstacles which this cause alone has presented to the plan of colonization. Look at Europe, with the deep indentations of its coast, its splendid estuaries and harbors, affording every facility for commerce and intercourse with the various parts of the same continent as well as of all the other great divisions of the globe. Witness a similar physical conformation of the great continent of America. You are all perfectly familiar with the vast influence of these great physical features, not only upon the climate of these continents, but also upon the character, pursuits and progress of the people who inhabit them. You do not require to be told that if Africa had been found with the same advantages—if it had been indented with great inlets, commodious bays and harbors, entered by great navigable rivers, its destiny and that of the vast population which inhabit it, would have been far different from what they now are. Hence the great difficulties, also, in the way of successful colonization—difficulties which did not attend the efforts of those Europeans who first settled this continent.

These disadvantages may be considered as more than a complete offset to the benefits enjoyed by the colony of Liberia in the protection of the American people and of this Society. Then the great fact stands forth, that in spite of all these difficulties, a growing, prosperous, and successful colony of free blacks has been planted on the coast of Africa—a colony which may be advantageously compared with any similar example of emigration made known to us in history. It is the importance of these facts, now known and appreciated by the whole country, which creates the interest, manifested in all

parts of the United States for the success and increase of the Colony of Liberia.

There are, however, other causes in operation which have contributed to this result. And among these is that great excitement under which the country has labored for some years past—the great sectional difficulty between the North and the South, on the subject of slavery. No such great and general agitation ever takes place among any people, without accomplishing something for the cause of human progress. And I think as the results of this vast commotion in the public mind, some three or four conclusions have arisen and fixed themselves as settled convictions of the American people. The first of these is, that the people of the Northern States are not benefitted, but on the contrary, are positively injured by the presence of the free blacks. The second is that the same is the case with regard to the white population of the Southern States. Third, that the slave himself is injured by the presence of the free black man; and finally, that the free blacks themselves can never enjoy liberty and equality, and consequently can never attain to the full exercise of their faculties, or rather the full development of their capacity for freedom, while they remain in this country.

As to the first of these propositions, that the people of the Northern States feel the presence of the free blacks, in any considerable numbers, to be a disadvantage to them, I need only refer to the legislation of some of the north-western States, actually excluding them from their limits. And I think I may refer to the tone of public sentiment all over the North as evinced by the public press. I might also refer to the messages of Governors of Northern States, to the proceedings of their legislative bodies, as evidence of the fact that this conviction has fixed itself upon the minds

of a very considerable majority of the Northern people. I know there is a different feeling among some, and that not perhaps an inconsiderable portion of the Northern people; but I speak of the general sentiments—the general convictions of the people of that part of the Union.

Now, sir, as to the second and third propositions, that the free blacks are felt in the Southern States to be a population that does not contribute to the welfare of either the white man or the slave. Here again I refer to the uniform legislation of all the Southern States—a legislation, not of recent origin, but going back almost to the foundation of the States themselves. The tenor of that legislation is to prohibit the emancipation of slaves except upon condition of their removal beyond the limits of the respective States. And it is usual, I believe universal, to prohibit the ingress of free negroes from the other States under the severest penalties. The foundation of this legislation, as everybody knows, is the conviction and the experience, that the presence of the black man in a state of freedom is injurious to society. I might refer you to the fact that even in South Carolina, within a few years past, the Governor of that State made the removal of the free negroes beyond its limits the subject of a direct recommendation in his message to the Legislature.

Now I say, with the utmost confidence, that this injury is not felt only as resulting to the interests of the white man, who is the master, but also to the black man, who is the slave. I shall presently endeavor to show that the free negro in this country is almost always a degraded being. He communicates this degradation to the slave, and generally exerts his influence in misleading and corrupting him. It is not that he incites the slave to rebel or to escape, so much as he induces him to pilfer and

steal, rewarding him with intoxicating drink. The result is vice and misery on the part of the slave, and increased severity on the part of his owner. So I assure you, sir, that it is beyond all doubt a fixed conviction on the part of the Southern people, that both the whites and the slaves would be benefitted by the removal of the free blacks.

As to the influence of the situation of the free blacks upon their own happiness, prosperity and progress, I need only refer you to the results exhibited by the census of 1840—results which will no doubt be sustained by the census of last year, when its details shall be made known. You all remember the celebrated letter of Mr. Calhoun, as to the comparative condition of the slaves and free negroes in this country. I know it was said in some quarters that the exhibit made in that letter was founded upon an error in the statistics upon which Mr. Calhoun based his conclusions. However that may be, every one must acknowledge, that, in the main, those conclusions are true. They may have been exaggerated by the supposed error of Mr. Calhoun, but still the fact remains undisputed, that in vice, crime, and degradation, the condition of the free negro in the non-slaveholding States is immeasurably below that of any other part of the population.

But if this be the result of experience, exhibited by statistical facts which cannot be successfully questioned, it is equally the conclusion to which every mode of correct reasoning will inevitably bring us. In the very nature of things—from the constitution of society and the natural instincts of man, the general condition of the free black in any portion of this country, must be one of inevitable degradation. Individual instances to the contrary do not shake this conclusion. The general result follows necessarily from the

existing condition of things—the actual relation of the two races on this continent.

A moral demonstration—reasoning from cause to effect—is not always satisfactory. In a mathematical demonstration, the facts are brought to the test of the senses—to the sight or the feeling. You take two triangles, with equal sides and angles, and impose one upon the other—they coincide in all parts—they are equal. I believe every mathematical problem can be brought down to this test, which appeals to the sight or feeling. But to the minds of educated men, a moral demonstration is, or at least ought to be, equally as convincing. Now take for the elements of our investigation a few obstinate facts which nobody can dispute. Take, in the first place, the unconquerable repugnance, the instinctive repulsion, between the white and black races—that prejudice, if you choose to call it so, which renders utterly impossible a social intercourse between the races upon a footing of equality. Take again the equally unquestionable superiority of the white race in intellect, in activity, and in physical force, or at least in those devices which supply the want of physical force or increase its efficiency. Then take, in addition, the overwhelming numbers of the whites. And now what do you make of the premises? You cannot dispute them. The wildest abolitionist, who professes to place the negro upon an equality with himself, cannot so far rebel against nature and conquer the natural repulsion of the races, as to intermarry with the objects of his philanthropy. The few exceptions to this assertion are anomalies and monstrosities, looked upon with utter loathing and disgust, by the great mass of the whites. In his actual condition, the negro is inferior to the white man. I do not pretend to decide the question of the origin of races, or to determine whether this inferiority results from circumstances

and conditions long operating to produce it, or whether it comes from a difference of mental and physical organization. I deal only with the facts as we find them to exist. The negroes of this country, free as well as slave, are not the equals of the white race, whatever may be the cause of the difference.

Then we have an inferior race, greatly in the minority, living among those who are vastly their superiors in activity, intellect, and enterprize, and who have an unconquerable aversion to social intercourse with them. What must be the inevitable result? Aye, with all your benevolence, with all your efforts to elevate and sustain this inferior population, what must be the end? They must go down. They cannot meet the competition, under such circumstances, of a superior race with greatly superior numbers. They must sink in the scale of prosperity, and consequently of intellect and of morals.

What is the principle which will control two races placed in contact under the circumstances I have described? It is the principle of antagonism. Such is the law of nature—such is the lesson we derive from history in all ages. I do not mean to say that this antagonism *ought* to exist. I do not mean even to assert that it *would* exist, if the principle of Christian charity were carried to its full extent; though under all circumstances the natural repulsion of the races would continue to operate. But I speak of human nature as it is, with all its cupidity, criminality, and its disposition to impose upon the weak and inferior. The free negro cannot stand up against this antagonism, in the existing condition of mankind, even if we consider only the operation of those impulses and desires which are usually considered irreproachable. Already they are fast being driven from profitable employment in all

parts of the country by the competition of the whites. They are going down in the scale of prosperity, and they must necessarily sink in the scale of civilization by the continued operation of the same cause.

The only remedy for this antagonism, which must exist as long as the races remain together, is, in my humble judgment, *slavery*. Like the alkali which causes the oil and water to combine, slavery neutralizes the antagonism of the whites and blacks for the mutual interest of both. I do not mean to say that "slavery in the abstract" is right. I am not one of those who believe that slavery is either destined to be, or ought to be, perpetual. But I speak of the necessary and inevitable relations between the two races in a condition such as that which exists in the United States. The free black man in this country, deprived of social equality and generally of political rights, is virtually a slave. I believe he assumes a level in society even lower than that of the slave.

Such will not be the case with any white race of men who may be brought into contact with us on this continent; because one element of the condition of the blacks does not exist—that is the instinctive repulsion between the races. You may bring an inferior European people into the United States, and in the course of one or two generations they melt away and mingle with our population—perhaps strengthen and improve it. But this the black race never can do. Their inevitable doom, among us, is to assume a lower caste and to go down in the scale of civilization.—But it does by no means follow that placed upon a different continent under different circumstances, precisely the opposite may not be the result. I believe that precisely the opposite would be the result. The black man is peculiarly docile; he is capable of improvement; he is susceptible of

a high degree of civilization; he has an intellect which some persons believe to be as good naturally as that of the white man. Place him in favorable circumstances on the shore of Africa, free from the injurious contact of the white man—his great superior in strength, ingenuity, and intellect, and therefore oppressing him by the very weight of this superiority—the tendency of the black man is to improve. His inevitable destiny, under such circumstances, is to rise in the scale of humanity by the exertion of independent power and self-control. The seeds of civilization have been planted in his bosom; here, they will germinate and expand there in a soil and climate, fitted by the Creator to his physical and moral nature.

It is a question of doubt in the minds of many, whether the black man placed in the most favorable circumstances in the Colony of Liberia, will be able to maintain free institutions. We are pointed to the condition of France at the present time, and we are told that one of the most enlightened nations of the earth, having its destinies in its own hands, has been unable to maintain a free government. It is therefore asserted that the black man, inferior in civilization and in intellect, at least at the present time, must be incapable of it. But it must be remembered that these European nations, enlightened as they may be, have their monarchical traditions of thousands of years, their despotic customs, and as we have been recently told by a very distinguished individual, that centralization which inevitably produces despotism. Nobody could have failed to perceive, during the existence of the French Republic since 1848, that the people there seemed to have no idea, certainly no idea like ours, of the true nature of a written constitution. Their constitution was always construed, or seemed to me to be con-

strued, in conformity with their former monarchical maxims and laws. In truth their institutions had not been changed in conformity with their change of constitution.

When the crab throws off his shell, his internal constitution and vital organization still remain the same, and they necessarily reproduce the shell again. So when the Government of France changed its head, or threw off its shell—the crust of despotism—its general institutions and internal organization remaining the same, it could produce nothing by the very nature of things, but despotism again. There must be an entire change in the internal organization of the body itself, in order that the caterpillar may come out a butterfly. It does not follow because the people of Liberia are in a lower state of improvement, that they are incapable of free institutions. I apprehend that free institutions are as natural and as easy to be maintained and carried on, as despotic governments. The Government of Liberia will start with that internal organization and those institutions which necessarily tend to produce freedom by their very operation. If this be the case, we may justly expect from the nature of the thing as well as from existing facts and the past history of this Colony, that they will be able to maintain their institutions, and that their destiny is to go forward progressively and not to go backwards.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I have attempted to show and I believe every one must acknowledge, that the removal of the free blacks from this country to Africa, where they can enjoy liberal institutions and where they can be in a situation to improve in civilization, prosperity and happiness, is to the advantage of the white man and of the black man—of the free man and of the slave—of the Northern man and

of the Southern man. It is the interest of all parties that they should be removed—black and white, East and West, North and South. It is the general—the universal—the national interest. I think this great fact is becoming known to the people. They are beginning to appreciate the policy which has been so perseveringly, through so many difficulties and discouragements, pursued by this Society for more than a quarter of a century. Results are becoming manifest. The negro, free in Africa, carrying civilization and Christianity with him, rises in the scale of being; while, in this country, his freedom does not relieve him from degradation, but dooms him and his posterity to inevitable decline. Humanity, self-interest, patriotism, all combine to urge the supreme necessity of colonization for the benefit of both races.

If these facts be true—if all interests, particular and general, individual and collective, local and national, require the prosecution of this great scheme, can you tell me, Mr. President, why the General Government must have no concern with it? why it may not look to this as a wise and legitimate collateral object, in the performance of its great constitutional duties?

Mr. President, in your speech in the Senate in March, 1850, of which I will say nothing, but which the whole country concurs in saying did you so much honor, and for which I had the pleasure of bearing to you the congratulations of some of my constituents of a political party opposite to your own, you, so far as I know or am informed, first broached the idea that the government might appropriate money for the purpose of colonizing the free blacks of the United States. I do not know that it would be practicable in the present state of public opinion, or at least, in the present state of that opinion which

controls the councils of the nation, to carry out your idea, which I believe to be a just idea. But there is a mode which, it seems to me, obviates all difficulty, and removes all objections, either on the score of policy or of constitutionality.

It is expected, for I am so informed, that I should say something about the scheme which has been so much agitated, generally known by the nickname of "the Ebony line of steamers." This is the proposition, Sir, though not original with me, which I had the honor to bring forward in the House of Representatives, and which I believe will accomplish the great object suggested by you in the speech to which I have referred. This proposition had the unqualified approbation of the President of the Society, (alluding to Mr. CLAY.) I do not know, Sir, what your views may be, (addressing Mr. WEBSTER.) But I think the scheme avoids all difficulties of a constitutional character, and renders it possible for the government of the United States to aid essentially in the cause of this Society, without offending the prejudices of any portion of the people.

From the earliest period of our history under the present constitution, it has been the custom, as every body knows, in making our postal arrangements, to provide for the carriage of the mails in post coaches wherever the routes have been of much importance. And although no one probably would contend that the government of the United States has the right to establish and maintain stage coaches for the purpose of carrying passengers alone, yet it is well understood that this usual requirement in the post office contracts, altogether unnecessary for the mere transportation of the mails, was made for the public accommodation, and for the express purpose of facilitating the carrying of passengers from one point to another. In the performance of its conceded constitutional

functions, the government has not felt itself bound, nor have the people heretofore expected it, to hold itself aloof from the public interest, whenever that could be incidentally promoted. Accordingly, similar arrangements have been made for some years past with reference to the foreign mails; and lines of steam vessels have been established, connected with the navy, and forming, as I believe, a very important and indispensable branch of the naval service, having precisely the same effect, and with precisely a similar object—the extension of the intercourse and commerce of the country with the different quarters of the world. Until this African steam line was proposed, having, in my humble judgment, more important collateral objects than any other, I believe I never heard of a constitutional objection to the contracts which have been entered into for carrying the mail between this and other countries. The proposition to establish this line, important as would be its bearing upon all the great interests to which I have alluded as being involved in the removal of the free blacks—interests, not less momentous to our own country, than to those of that little commonwealth on the other shore of the Atlantic, which is the worthy offspring of this Society—it is not, in any particular, different in principle from any of those lines which have heretofore been established without objection.

In another point of view, I think this policy of very high importance. I believe, and it is generally acknowledged, that the invention of the steam engine will produce a thorough and complete revolution in the art of naval warfare. It is well known that in anticipation of this revolution, which must be exhibited in the next naval conflict which shall occur, all the great maritime powers of the world have made such preparation as to have at their com-

mand an immense force of steamers for any sudden contingencies. England has numerous lines of steamers, established upon the same principle to which I have already referred, comprising more than a hundred powerful vessels, ready at any moment to receive their armaments, and to scour the ocean. In the "*Washington Union*" of this morning, I find the following extract from the "*London Times*:"

"STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH THE COLONIES.—The government has advertised for tenders for conveying mails by screw steamers between the Cape of Good Hope and Calcutta, via the Mauritius and Ceylon. This will establish a steam-packet communication between the Mauritius and this country, both by the Cape and overland routes. It will also connect the Cape with the overland route. When the contracts for conveying mails at present advertised for are all taken, there will be a steam-packet communication with every important English colony and possession in the world, except New Zealand and Vancouver's island. The total cost to the country of the mail packet service may be set down at 850,000*l.* per annum, and next year this sum will be increased to 1,000,000*l.*"

But in addition to this information, which shows very plainly the drift and direction of English naval policy, I was recently informed by an intelligent gentleman of another equally important fact. I do not know how authentic it may be, but the gentleman who informed me received it from such a source that he gave it implicit confidence. He stated that there is not a steamer built in England, by private owners or companies, either for the coasting or foreign trade, for which the government of Great Britain does not provide an armament, marked and numbered, and deposited in her arsenals, to be placed upon

that vessel in the contingency of war. And it was stated as a consequence, that if war should break out to-morrow, between England and any other country, she could put upon the ocean no less than a thousand steamers, bearing these armaments.

I shall not attempt to decide, for I feel myself entirely incompetent to decide, that great question which is of so much interest, and about which there is so much diversity of opinion among naval men themselves, whether, in a future war, steam-power will be used merely as an auxiliary, or whether it will be the primary force relied upon. Certain it is, that these swarms of steamers, by the celerity and certainty of their movements, would not only sweep the ocean, but they could take cities and towns, by landing large forces at any given point. They could concentrate at a designated spot in any portion of the world within a given time, and would thus introduce into naval warfare that system of combination which has characterized the operations of military power since the days of Napoleon. They could outrun and evade sailing vessels, leave them behind, and carry on commerce in spite of them. So that it may be a question worthy of consideration whether steam is not destined to be the most efficient—indeed, the indispensable agent in any future war, instead of being, as many suppose, the mere auxiliary power in aid of the old organization. But whichever may be the truth, it cannot be doubted, if the facts I have mentioned be well founded, that England is acting wisely and with proper foresight, in preparing to make use of this powerful agent upon so extensive a scale, for her own defence, or for aggression upon others. We are far behind her. So far as actually existing arrangements—I mean our state of actual preparation—are concerned, we are behind all the great mari-

time powers of the world—Russia and France as well as England. But I do not mean to say that we are behind either of those powers in our naval resources—in our capacity, eventually, to put a fleet upon the ocean.

I think it follows from these considerations, that in entering upon this system by which the building of steam vessels is encouraged, and by which they are kept constantly running to all quarters of the world, we not only extend our commerce and repay for the expenditure by the general benefits received from this source, but we do also, at the same time, make the best possible preparation, and indeed the only valuable preparation, for the contingency of a war.

Mr. President and gentlemen, there is another consideration which for some time has been weighing upon my mind, and which I have expressed to some extent upon other occasions. But I am almost afraid to declare what I feel, because I know I shall be flying in the face of old ideas, and prejudices which have long existed. But I will venture to ask you to think of this single fact: if we should have another twenty-five years of peace, and if the expenses of our navy during that period should not be reduced, as they probably cannot be and ought not to be, considering the vast extension of our country and its prospective increase of population, the expenditures for the naval service will amount to at least **TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.** (Turning to Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster,) You who have the control and management of this government and its destinies to some extent in your hands, and also the destinies of humanity, so far as the influence of this great Government goes, what are you accomplishing by the aid of this vast expenditure? Or, perhaps, I ought rather to ask what might you not accomplish in the next twenty-five years by the judicious use of

these two hundred millions of dollars? I know very well that the time has not yet come when we can dispense with our naval armaments, or with our military forces on shore. But I do believe the time has come when the enlightened condition of the world requires that these vast expenditures in making preparation for war, should be made useful in maintaining the arts of peace, and that prosperity which is the result of peace—in extending and promoting that invaluable commerce, and that friendly christian intercourse of nations, which the navy is designed to protect.

I have said upon another occasion, that when you take one of those magnificent steamers, which plough the ocean almost without any indication of the power which produces the result, and place upon her an armament erected for her own defence and for the defence of that commerce which she is calculated so much to extend, you have half accomplished that great prophecy, which perhaps a few generations are to see fully accomplished, when the sword shall be turned into the ploughshare.

The closer you bring nations together, the more intimate you make their intercourse—especially the intercourse of the people with each other—the more distant do you make the possibility of war. And while it is claimed that the increased destructiveness of the instruments of war, has had a tendency to diminish the disposition of nations to engage in it, the invention of the powerful agency of steam has had a still more humane and noble influence—that is, to unite all nations in an intimate brotherly intercourse, which is fast leading them to the conclusion that wars are no longer necessary, except to minister to the ambition of princes and rulers.

Sir, I hold it to be a proposition which no man can dispute or gainsay, that if our country can be as well defended in the way proposed, by which the public expenditure

will at the same time be made to accomplish happy results for the welfare of the country—if it can be thus as well defended as it can be by the old system of floating batteries—the old frigates and ships of the line which frequently lie two or two and a half years out of three in some distant port—if you can substitute active and efficient steamers for these old vessels, with security to the country, and at the same time with advantage to the commerce of the country, it is our solemn duty to do so. Such will be the judgment of the country—such will be the judgment of the civilized world.

I do not know, Mr. President, that I can add any thing more to the views which I have sketched. I have not entered into them with any very great detail, because I know that to this intelligent audience, it is necessary only to give the great outlines of my position. They will themselves supply the minute features of the picture. I might properly allude to the fact, that the Government of the United States in former times, has felt itself at liberty to enter into treaties which impose upon it the obligation to keep a large squadron on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. I believe now, the conviction is very general, not only in this country but in England, that the combined navies of the two countries have done little towards the actual suppression of the trade in African men. Sir, I heard your predecessor in that chair, (Mr. Clay,) the venerable President of this Society, twelve months ago, demonstrate in his own most eloquent mode, that the Colonization of the Coasts of Africa was the only efficient means of accomplishing that great result. One of the greatest merits of the Colony of Liberia—one of its highest claims to your consideration and encouragement—is the fact that it has done much; that it promises to do

still more, to suppress this infamous traffic. Now I think it would be a very wise change—a very beneficial and humane change—one that would not to any extent, endanger the true interests of the country, to make use of the expenditure which is now applied for sustaining this squadron on the Coast of Africa, to establish a line of communication, by which the emigrant from this country will be afforded a cheap, quick, and comfortable passage, to the home of his fathers. In a few years what might be expected as the result of the establishment of such a line? Africa will become a place of promise to the black man, as this country has become a place of promise to the white man of the European continent. It is not supposed that the Government of the United States, by any facilities which it might thus incidentally offer, could remove the whole race of free blacks in this country. But by this movement, so much strength and prosperity might be infused into the new colony, that the free black man would be attracted, and would of his own accord, seek a home in Africa. This is the great result at which this Society is aiming. When this shall be accomplished, its mission will have been completed. The free negroes of this country will hasten to the shores of Africa, they will build up a prosperous Government; they will carry civilization and Christianity into the interior of that vast continent, and they will develop its resources to an extent which will astonish and delight mankind.

I believe the black man, in former times, under bad advice and baleful influences, has shown himself averse to leaving this country and taking up his abode in Africa. Recent indications, however, go to show that he is beginning to change, and to learn that he can never enjoy true freedom, or make real progress in this country

—that the desire to remove to Africa is extending itself among the blacks themselves. Nothing remains, but that the Government of the United States shall give its favor and encouragement to this proceeding. This it can do, without stepping out of the usual mode of accomplishing similar results—without doing any thing which it has not done often before, without objection—and without contravening any constitutional principle, or any cherished principle of policy.

Mr. President, I forbear to speak of the capacities of that country for agricultural and commercial development. There is a vast field of investigation which I leave for others to explore. I will not even speak of the commercial advantages which in the course of time might accrue from the particular measure, which I have now especially advocated. I leave all these to other gentlemen, or for other occasions. I am aware that other gentlemen are expected to address you, and I will no longer keep you from the enjoyment of those better things, which, I have no doubt, are in store for you.

The Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, of Virginia, was next introduced. He offered the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization affords a basis broad enough for Christians of all creeds and politicians of all parties to stand upon; and that its principles and conduct are in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of the States, and our obligations to the Union and to God.

In support of this resolution, Mr. Slaughter spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: In the year 1607 three English ships were driven by stress of weather into the Capes of Virginia, and,

having ascended the James river, effected the first settlement of the white race upon the continent of America. About twelve years afterwards, in the year 1620, a Dutch man-of-war ascended the same river and landed at the same place twenty African slaves. And now, for the first time, the white man, the black man and the red man stood face to face and gazed upon each other in the New World.

From that moment, these three races started upon a new career—a career which is even now in the process of development before our eyes—a career which was destined, in my humble judgment, to fulfill upon a large scale that remarkable prophecy uttered thousands of years before by the patriarch Noah, when, in the name of God, he proclaimed, “God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.”

The contemplation of the career upon which those three races started at that eventful moment may teach us some exceedingly instructive and interesting lessons. There was the white man, the type of Christian civilization. He began immediately to increase and multiply in the most rapid and wonderful manner. In a very few years, or in a comparatively short time, he penetrated every river that opened its mouth into the Atlantic ocean—he ascended every hill—he passed every mountain—poured along the valleys and spread over the entire continent of America. But not merely has he subdued the wilderness and made those vast solitudes which hitherto were unbroken, save by the war-whoop of the Indian and the scream of the eagle, vocal with the hum of industry and with the songs of Christian praise; but, in the same space of time, he has accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of the world. He

has reared the fabrics of government which have no model upon the face of the Globe—governments which are now attracting the observation of the entire world. The kings of the continent of Europe at this very moment are looking with awe and disquietude upon “this new Rome rising in the West,” the foreshadows of whose greatness yet to be are extending darkly and heavily over their dominions and obscuring the lustre of their thrones.

Where are the other parties to this interesting meeting? The red man has retired before the rising tide of white population, receding from the Blue Ridge to the Alleghany—from the Alleghany to the Mississippi, and disappearing from each in quick succession, like snow before the sun. He may linger for a few years in our Western horizon, but is destined ere long to make his “ocean grave with the setting sun.” His history is an instructive instance of the effect of leaving an inferior in immediate contact with a superior race, and in the enjoyment of its own wild liberty.

To return to the African. Had he been left, like the Indian, in his native freedom, his would have been the fate of the Indian. But in the mysterious providence of God, the African was “bound to the car of the Anglo-American,” who has borne him along with him in his upward career, protecting his weakness, and providing for him physical comforts which were never enjoyed by the Indian, nor indeed by the lower classes in any country under the sun.

Accordingly he has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, until he is numbered by millions instead of scores, and if the accession by immigration had not been arrested, the black

might have surpassed the white population.

In the meantime the black man has been trained in the habits, manners and arts of civilized life—been made acquainted with the Christian religion and been gradually rising in the intellectual and moral order until he is far above his race in their native lands. In these facts, Sir, we see some traces of the designs of an all-wise Providence in permitting the black man to be brought here and placed in contact with the institutions of Christian civilization. As we proceed, we shall discover new and more beautiful instances of design, as the history of the race is evolved under the Providence of God.

No sooner had we taken our place as an independent power among the nations of the earth, than a new phenomenon presented itself to our view—to wit.—The class of *free* colored people. The thirteen colonies which adopted the Declaration of Independence, were slave-holders. When these colonies became States, they reserved their sovereign power over the question of slavery. In the exercise of their sovereignty, seven of the original thirteen, in process of time, emancipated their slaves. Many individuals in the Southern States, emancipated a still larger number. This new phenomenon soon began to attract the public attention. The agitation of the subject began in the Legislature of Virginia in 1776, but nothing definite was done. In after years the subject was repeatedly discussed in the Legislature and was a matter of grave consideration and of correspondence and consultation among the leading statesmen of the commonwealth, who at last concluded that it would be a wise measure of policy as well as an act of humanity to remove this anomalous class of people from the State. Measures were

accordingly taken to effect this object in co-operation with the general government.

For many years previous to this era, Christian men had been anxiously pondering the problem of the conversion of Africa to Christianity. When adventurous travellers and missionaries, who had penetrated the interior of that continent, returned and disclosed the condition of that unhappy people—generation after generation of whom, had for centuries been going down to their graves unblessed by the light of Christianity, and living millions still groaning under the yoke of the most debasing bondage and the most cruel superstition to which humanity ever bent the knee or bowed the mind, the mighty heart of Christendom beat with the liveliest sympathy, and a cry of horror went up from all her borders.—Shamed by past apathy, and burning with present zeal, different branches of the Church, projected mission after mission and sent them forth at an immense expense of life and treasure to convey the glad tidings of salvation to these perishing millions. The experiment was tried for more than 200 years, and the result was an absolute failure; and the bones of a noble army of martyrs, bleached the burning sands of that benighted land. When the heart of Christendom had again sunk down into apathy and black despair seemed to rest on the prospect in that direction, then it was that the happy thought occurred to many christian minds who had been long pondering the problem presented by the presence of the free colored people in this country, and also the unhappy condition of Africa, of taking these very persons whose presence was not desired here, and whose removal was eminently desirable on many accounts, and sending them back to the land of their fathers bearing along with them the Ark of God, and all the institutions of Christian civilization.

Here is one of those remarkable instan-

ees in which Divine Providence acts far out of the sight of men. In allowing these persons to be kept here for 200 years in contact with the institutions of Christian civilization, daily rising in the scale of intellectual and moral improvement, having become acquainted with the principles, and in many instances imbued with the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ—God, as it has been beautifully and eloquently said, had been long elaborating in the depths of his own unfathomable counsel, just as he elaborates the diamond in the mine, that gem of Christian civilization which now blazes on the sable brow of Africa.

Politicians looking at this question from a political point of view, and actuated by political considerations merely, were also pondering this very problem, and contemporary with the conclusion to which christians came, they had come to identically the same conclusion. Accordingly, as we all know, politicians of all parties, and Christians of all creeds, assembled here in the city of Washington in 1816, and laid the foundation of the very Society whose 35th anniversary we are now celebrating, burying under its corner-stone all party feeling in politics—all sectarian jealousies in religion. What but the superintending providence of God could have produced this conjuncture of circumstances and union of minds.

Men of the highest sanctity of character and splendor of talent—burning and shining lights in the church and in the State, were present and participated in the proceedings which are familiar to us all.—The result of their deliberations was that in 1820, (just 200 years after the landing of the blacks in Jamestown,) the "Elizabeth" sailed for the coast of Africa with 83 emigrants and a few white men who had volunteered to be pioneers in

this perilous enterprize. I will not detain you by reciting the affecting story of their adventures, which in many incidents are strangely like those of the first settlers of our own country.

Only 30 years have elapsed and what has been the result. I will not enter into the details. You have heard many of them already in the annual report. But what has been the general result? There it stands in the sight of all men, a Christian Republic in the very central region of African barbarism and the slave trade, a republic of free blacks constructed after the model of our own, with all the machinery of a free republican government, presided over and administered in all its departments by free colored men from the United States of America. There are between 20 and 30 Christian Churches in full and successful operation. There are Sunday schools and day schools. There are printing presses and newspapers.—There is all the apparatus of Christian civilization in full and distinct and visible operation, exerting a powerful influence upon hundreds and thousands of the natives who are daily coming within the range of its influence. We are told that even Kings are coming already to the brightness of the rising of this Lone Star, and bringing their children to be educated in the principles of free government, and still more in the principles and glad tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ our Saviour. We have thus pushed the base of our missionary operations in Africa across the Atlantic, 4000 miles in advance of our former centre of operations. And it is a fact worthy of being noted that white missionaries are now able to maintain their ground by means of the comfort and protection afforded by the presence of the Colonies.

Mr. President, I desire to consider in a few words in the conclusion of this rapid and desultory view of the question;

what is our duty as patriotic men? What is our duty as humane men? What is our duty as Christian men in relation to this great measure of State policy and of Christian beneficence. First, then, this is a question of humanity. There is a large class, now amounting to between 300 and 500,000 of our fellow-creatures occupying a state of intellectual, of moral, of social, and of political degradation far below that of the white population and in many cases even of our slaves. There are some visionaries who profess to entertain the expectation and the hope that these persons will some day or other be brought to stand upon the same platform of political and social equality with the white race. Sir, no dream in the Arabian Tales was ever more vain, mischievous, and visionary.—It is utterly impossible. Almighty God has placed between us and them by a visible mark, an impassable gulf. No human power or wisdom can ever bridge that gulf so that they can come over and stand on the same platform of political and social equality with us. No, sir, they stand and frown upon each other—

“Like cliffs that have been rent asunder,
A dreary sea now rolls between;
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,
Shall ever do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been.”
[Applause.]

It does not become me, perhaps, to speak of this question in a political aspect; but I will say one word upon that point. We are all patriotic men. All American citizens are patriotic men. All admire and love the institutions of their country, and desire to perpetuate them to the latest posterity. Need I suggest what is the cause which has come more nearly than any other cause, to overwhelm this proud fabric of free government, to which the thousands and tens of thousands of refugees from the old and worn-out governments of Europe,

are flocking every day, as doves to their windows! It is this very question of the black race. Do we not know that questions connected with this very class have agitated this country—have shaken the great fabric of government from its base to its topmost turret, have made it heave to and fro as if with a mighty moral earthquake, and have threatened utterly to overwhelm it in one entire and tremendous ruin. Is it not clear that if this Society proceeds to do as it has already done, it will abstract, to a certain extent, some of the causes of this political agitation, in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of property, the rights of the States, and all our obligations to the Union and to God? If it tends to abstract one of those causes of political agitation and disturbance, does it not tend in the same ratio to establish and perpetuate our free and glorious institutions? Is there an American citizen who will not do all that in him lies, in the providence of God, to hand down to his posterity this noble structure, under whose shadow such multitudes of the miserable and oppressed from every nation of the earth are now taking shelter? Sir, it is encouraging us, to see among the bright names upon the roll of our Society, those of the men who laid the foundation of our government, and cemented it with their blood, as well as of those who have built up its walls, and who now stand as the firmest pillars and the most graceful ornaments of that wondrous structure, whose crowning dome is the constitution of the United States.

Again, not to dwell on this branch of the subject, we are Christians, and this subject has a missionary aspect. There are thousands and tens of thousands of Christians in this country, who believe that we have now clear and distinct, and most encouraging evidence, that this is one of the

special modes by which God's providence is going to solve that so long vexed and perplexing problem of the establishment of Christianity in Africa. So long as the white man was employed as the instrument for conveying the gospel to Africa, all his efforts were attended with absolute failure. Utter failure was written upon them all. It would seem as if Almighty God, by these dispensations of his providence, had absolutely interdicted that land to the white man; and that he had been preparing these persons, who can live in that clime, so fatal to the white man, to be instruments of the entire and permanent establishment of all the institutions of Christianity and free government in that benighted land. Oh! what an animating view is not this to the Christian; and what a powerful stimulus should it not give to our support of this great scheme of African colonization. There are many of us who do not doubt for one single moment, however vain and chimerical, or visionary, other persons may deem it, that this instrumentality will have precisely that full and glorious developement and issue.

Sir, there stands upon the coast of Africa a civilized community, whose influence is felt throughout all the region round about. Why should not that instrumentality be used by Divine Providence for the purpose of the entire regeneration of the whole continent of Africa? Is that too much for the eye of faith to anticipate? Why, let us reflect a moment upon the history of our own country. It has been well asked, where was the Christian, or the politician, sufficiently sagacious to see in that little tobacco plantation at Jamestown, two hundred years ago, or in that little company which was wafted across the wintry ocean in the *May Flower* and landed upon the

barren rock of Plymouth, the germs of this colossal America of ours, which now stands with her feet in the tropics, her head reposing upon the snows of Canada, stretching her right hand to the Pacific and her left hand to the Atlantic in token of welcome and shelter to the refugee and oppressed of all lands. (Great applause.) Why may we not anticipate that God will thus bless that Lone Star which now shines with fitful and tremulous light in the very central regions of African barbarism and the slave trade, and that, by his blessing upon it, upon our prayers, upon our example, and upon the efforts of individuals, of States, and of the United States, that Lone Star may become a mighty constellation like our own, shining like light-houses around the coast of Africa, their light transmitted through all the dark valleys of the shadow of death, until the very Mountains of the Moon reflecting the Sun of Righteousness, shall light up the midnight of African barbarism.

The Reverend Gentleman resumed his seat amidst great applause.

The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER next addressed the Society, as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY:—It is now many years since I took part in the original organization of this society. It was formed under the lead of Southern gentlemen. Its first President, if I remember aright, was that most estimable, virtuous, and distinguished magistrate, Judge Bushrod Washington. In the list of its Vice Presidents at that time, if I remember aright, was the gentleman to whom allusion has already been made—the present President of this Society. Circumstances have not called upon, nor even permitted me, in the course of the many years that have rolled over our heads from that day to this, to take any particular active part in furthering the ob-

jects or promoting the success of this Society. I have, nevertheless, never for a moment entertained a doubt that its object was useful, that to a certain degree it was practicable and that in the end it might show itself to be of the highest importance in producing beneficial effects upon the state of society among us arising from the mixed races that inhabit the United States.

Gentlemen, there is a Power above us which sees the end of all things from the beginning, though we see it not. Almighty God is his own interpreter of the ways of his own providence; and I sometimes contemplate with amazement, and I may say with adoration, events which have taken place through the instrumentality of the cupidity and criminality of men, designed nevertheless to work out great ends of beneficence and goodness, by our Creator. (Applause.)

As has been said by the eloquent and reverend gentleman who has addressed us, African slaves were brought hither, to the shores of this continent, almost simultaneously with the first tread of a white man's foot upon this, our North America. We see in that, our short-sightedness only sees, the effect of a desire of the white man to appropriate to himself the results of the labor of the black man as an inferior and a slave. Now let us look at it.

These negroes, and all who have succeeded them, brought hither as captives taken in the wars of their own petty provinces, ignorant and barbarous, without the knowledge of God, and with no reasonable knowledge of their own character and condition, have come here, and here, although in a subordinate, in an inferior, in an enslaved condition, have learned more and become to know more of themselves and of their Creator, than all whom they have left behind them in their own barbarous kingdoms. It would seem that this is the mode, as far as we can judge, this is

the destiny, the rule of things, established by Providence, by which knowledge, letters, and Christianity shall be returned by the descendants of those poor ignorant barbarians who were brought here as slaves, to the country from which they came.

Who but must wonder, who can fail to see what appears to be so plainly the indication in the providence of God. He who now goes back to Africa under the auspices of this Society is an intelligent man. He knows that he is an immortal man, what his ancestors hardly knew except from that instinctive principle which pervades all human nature, that there is an hereafter. He has the lights of knowledge; he has the lights of Christianity, and he goes back infinitely more advanced in all that makes him a respectable human being than his ancestors were when they were brought from the barbarism of Africa to slavery in the United States. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the ways of Providence are dark and intricate. Our imagination traces them in vain. We do not see where the combination ends; but we may depend upon it that since there are various races upon earth, since there are, as it seems to me unquestionable that there are, instructive repulsions between these races grown up during thousands of years by difference of climate and difference of color, there is nevertheless an end in view in the providence of our Creator which will be promotive of the happiness of all by the agency of the benevolent and well disposed in this modern and civilized age. Emigration from land to land—emigration from country to country, is one of the new and striking ideas of this age. I say it is a new idea. I do not mean that emigration from region to region has not been known from time immemorial, but I say as a great movement of society, as a great operation in the commercial, political, and moral world, emigration has now become an em-

inent and predominant idea and object.— We see it in more instances than one and in more relations than one.

One of the wisest gentlemen that it has ever been my fortune in public life to be concerned with, the late Lord Ashburton, in a correspondence which he had with this government while here, remarked that it seemed to be the design of Providence,—by facilitating the intercourse between country and country, by causing the transmission of men from one continent to another, to be only the work of so much time, and that a short time, and that time continually growing shorter,—by that particular branch of advancement in the arts, to average the population of the world upon the area of the world, to enable Europe to pour forth her over population, and to spread that population upon the too thinly peopled country of North America. This great work of averaging men upon acres, of giving every man breadth and room and space, especially as applied to our Anglo-Saxon race, to spread them with their knowledge and their principles, their activity, and their energy, and their love of liberty, civil and religious, over the largest possible space on the habitable globe, is the great idea of emigration in our time. We cannot stop it. We ought not to desire to stop it. It has for a time its inconvenience. It brings among us persons not as yet entirely or very much acquainted with our system, bringing perhaps in many cases too much of the notions in which they were bred, to the new country to which they come. That is the affair of a generation; and all the evil that is in it is suppressed, overgrown, and done away with in the next generation.—Of all those foreigners who are among us now, stretching all the way from the sea coast to the Mississippi and beyond the Mississippi, English, Irish, French, Germans, from whatsoever country, a generation

hence, they are all Americans like ourselves. (Applause.) We cannot resist this course of things if we would, and we ought not to resist it if we could. It is in that order of things, in that destiny of nations, which is prescribed by the providence of God, and to which we must submit.

There is another sort of emigration. It is the emigration from the New World, or this Western continent, to the Eastern—the emigration of the free colored race, with some degree of information, with some notions of religion and free government, and with some notions of what belongs to civilized life, and in many respects with a considerable idea of that, from these United States back to the land of Ham, from which their fathers were brought in chains and slavery.

I do not know, I do not profess to foresee, what may happen in years to come, or in generations to come, but I say with frankness and confidence, that it appears to me that the emigration of the free blacks from this country to Africa is destined to produce great good. If it be true, as I believe it is, without entering into any physical argument on the subject, that an amalgamation of the races here is not practicable, then the necessary result is that a separation of the races so as to enable each to pursue its own ends, its own social institutions, its own physical alliances and affinities, is what humanity requires under the influence of the same general principles of public liberty, and under the influence of the same light of the Christian religion. This appears to me to be practicable and desirable.

There are half a million of persons in the United States, of the African race, free.

Well, it is a great work to place them in a condition and in a place in which they may not only be free, but in which they may be subject to no feeling of inferiority. No man flourishes, no man grows in a

state of conscious inferiority, any more than a vegetable grows in the dark. He must come out. He must feel his equality. He must enjoy the shining sun in the Heavens as much as those around him before he feels that he is in all respects a man. (Applause.) Now it appears to me that this emigration is not impracticable. What is it to the great resources of this country, to send out a hundred thousand persons a year to Africa? In my opinion, without any violation of the analogies which we have followed in other cases, in pursuance of our commercial regulations, upon the same principles as have already been stated by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee, who has addressed the meeting, it is within our constitution—it is within the powers and provisions of that constitution, as a part of our commercial arrangements, just as we enter into treaties and pass laws for the suppression of the slave trade. If we look now to other instances, we shall see how great may be the emigration of individuals, with slight means from government.

What has been the result within a very few years? Why, if the efforts of this Society, sustained and encouraged by the General Government, should in five years accomplish half as much as has been accomplished in Ireland by individual action and very slight governmental support in the emigration of persons from Ireland, the whole work would be done. A million and a half of persons have become emigrants from Ireland within a very few years. There has been an actual diminution of the population of Ireland to the extent which I have mentioned, within some three or four or five years. They come here, a white race, they join a white race, laboring men, in the general well disposed, they go into our forests, at first not well acquainted with our institutions, gradually obtaining that information, surrendering

themselves to the general current and tone and feeling of society, becoming more and more industrious, until, as I have said, in the next generation, they are Americans without reference to origin. If to this extent the population of Ireland has been poured upon this country and upon Canada, and perhaps in some degree upon the possessions in Asia—if to the extent of one million and a half of persons the general population of Ireland has been diminished within five years, when these whites come from that land and join whites here, what could we not do to accomplish the object of sending free black persons to join other free black persons in the country of their ancestors?

At this late hour of the evening, gentlemen, it is not my intention to pursue these remarks. I concur entirely in the views suggested by both the resolutions before the meeting. I wish prosperity to this institution. I wish to see that done which shall comport most with the interests and the character and the improvement of all those persons of color who are free, and who choose to go to a country of their own. I think it is for their interest. I think it is for the interests of the country itself, especially of the North. I say nothing of the South with which I am not so much acquainted. But I believe it is right; I believe it is expedient to follow the example of the patriarch, and say to these, our black fellow citizens, take the right hand and we will take the left. Let us be harmonious, and let us wish each other well; let us do all that we can for the harmony and the happiness of us all, but trust to God that in your destiny, in the land of your fathers, you will be happier than you are here, and trust to God also, that when you shall have left us, you will leave us, not less happy than if you were to remain among us.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the Colonization Rooms to-morrow, the 21st instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

COLONIZATION ROOMS, }
January 21, 1852. }

The Society met according to adjournment. Anson G. Phelps, Esq., being the oldest Vice President present, was, in the absence of the President, called to the Chair.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting of the Society were read.

The Rev. John Maclean, D. D., the Rev. Joseph Tracy, and the Rev. J. B. Pinney, were appointed a Committee to nominate a President and Vice Presidents of the Society for the ensuing year—whereupon, the following named persons were nominated and elected :

PRESIDENT :

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

1. General John H. Cocke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Maryland.
7. Moses Allen, of N. Y.
8. Gen. Walter Jones, of District of Columbia.
9. Joseph Gales, of District of Columbia.
10. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. Rev. James O. Andrew, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
12. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
13. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.
14. Walter Lowrie, of N. Y.
15. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
16. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Miss.
17. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
18. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of District of Columbia.
19. Rev. William Winans, D. D., of Mississippi.

20. James Boorman, of New York.
21. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
22. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
23. Peter V. Broom, of New Jersey.
24. James Garland, of Virginia.
25. William Hall, of Delaware.
26. Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.
27. Gerard Ralston, of England.
28. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, of New Jersey.
29. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D., of England.
30. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
31. Thomas R. Hazard, of R. I.
32. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Virginia.
33. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.
34. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
35. James Railey, of Mississippi.
36. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D., of N. Y.
37. Elliott Cresson, of Pennsylvania.
38. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
39. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Mass.
40. Rev. Beverly Waugh, D. D., Bishop of the Meth. Episcopal Church.
41. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of South Carolina.
42. Moses Sheppard, of Maryland.
43. Rt. Rev. Bishop McIlvane, of Ohio.
44. Rev. Dr. Edgar, of Tennessee.
45. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Tenn.
46. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
47. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of New Jersey.
48. H. L. Lumpkin, of Georgia.
49. James Lenox, of New York.
50. Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
51. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine.
52. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
53. Thomas W. Williams, of Conn.
54. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.
55. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia.
56. Rev. Lovick Pierce, D. D., of Ga.
57. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
58. Samuel Gurney, of England.
59. Charles McMicken, of Ohio.
60. John Bell, M. D., of Penn.
61. Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana.
62. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Virginia.
63. Frederic P. Stanton, of Tenn.
64. Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D., of New York.
65. John Beveridge, of New York.
66. James M. Wayne, of Georgia.
67. Robert F. Stockton, of New Jersey.
68. Henry W. Collier, of Alabama.

On motion, the Annual Report was referred to the Board of Directors.

On motion of Rev. John Mac-

lean, D. D., the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with our venerable President, the Hon. Henry Clay, in his present protracted illness, by which we are deprived of his presence and able counsels at this annual meeting of our Society, to which he has, from its foundation, devoted himself with signal ability and unwavering fidelity; and that we hold him in affectionate and grateful remembrance for the distinguished services he has rendered in the prosecution of the great scheme of African Colonization.

On motion of Francis Hall, Esq., the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, That the cause of African Colonization commends itself more forcibly than ever to the christian community, in view of its *missionary aspect*; presenting, as it does, a wide and open door of access for the Bible, and the preaching of the Gospel to the millions upon that dark continent of heathenism, through the Republic of Liberia, which is now prosperously sustaining churches, missionaries, and schools, in every town and settlement within its jurisdiction.

Resolved, That to the christian ministry and churches of all denominations, whether north or south, this Society will still, as heretofore, look with confidence for their continued prayers and liberality in its behalf.

The following resolutions were also adopted :

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have been ever ready to rejoice in the multiplication of free governments, in all lands and upon either continent; and whereas, it is a principle of American policy to establish relations of amity and commerce, with every nation of freemen, who, having declared independence, are able to maintain it; therefore,

Resolved, That if the Republic of Liberia, founded on the model of our own government, on the western coast of Africa, though it be the least among the sovereignties of the earth, is as much entitled to recognition now, as it will be when "the little one shall become a thousand, and the strong one a mighty nation."

Therefore, the American Colonization Society feel it their duty respectfully again to urge the recognition of the Liberian Republic to the favorable consideration of the United States Government.

Resolved, That we gratefully appreciate the recommendation of the Governors of several of the States, that legislative action should be taken, and appropriations made for the purpose of advancing the ends of this Society; and that the several State auxiliary Societies be requested to memorialize the legislatures of their respective States, soliciting State appropriations for the purpose of removing the free people of color to the Republic of Liberia.

The Society then adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1853, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Recent Intelligence from Liberia.

By a late arrival from Liberia, we have advices to the 13th December, 1851, from which it appears that the condition of

affairs in Grand Bassa county is very distressing, in view of the recent warlike demonstrations of some of the native chiefs,

by which several of the citizens of Liberia have lost their lives. It appears that on the 5th of November last, an unexpected attack was made on the settlement, recently commenced in the neighborhood of Fishtown, a few miles below the town of Bassa Cove; the attacking forces consisting of a company of native Africans, under the command of a notorious and unprincipled chief, named Grando, who had previously been guilty of many petty annoyances, but who had recently incorporated himself with the Liberian Government, and on the assurance of due obedience to the laws, had received permission to build a town near the new settlement. Under the guise of friendship, he managed to throw the settlers off their guard; and in this state, while they were altogether unsuspecting of his real intention, he suddenly appeared in the new settlement, at the head of about three hundred men, and unceremoniously commenced butchering the inoffensive inmates of the houses; nine of whom, two men, two women, one boy, and four children, (one an infant,) were murdered. The savage assailants then plundered the settlement of every thing worth carrying away, and set fire to the houses. Those of the inhabitants who escaped being murdered, fled for safety to the town of Bassa Cove, about three miles distant.

The first intimation we had of the attack made by Grando, was contained in the following letter from President Roberts, received by way of England:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Monrovia, November 6, 1851.

DEAR SIR: A report has just reached here, that Grando yesterday morning made an attack upon the new settlement at Fishtown, set fire to the village, and killed some eight or ten of the settlers. I have not yet learned the particulars. That the town has been attacked and burned, there is no doubt; but that the number of lives lost has been exaggerated we have

good reason to believe. As you may suppose, we are suffering great anxiety and intense suspense.

A vessel is here, on the eve of sailing for Liverpool, to be off in a couple of hours; and thinking that some uncertain news of the attack might reach you, before I may have an opportunity of writing to the United States direct, and create considerable anxiety, I have thought proper to drop you this hasty line via England.

This fellow Grando is the most consummate villain I ever met. Not more than two months ago, at his own request, I had an interview with him, when he expressed to me great contrition and penitence for having conducted himself so badly, and given us so much trouble, and solicited permission to return to the beach and build a town near the new settlement, professing the greatest friendship, and pledging himself most solemnly that he and his people would live there in the most peaceable manner. He has doubtless by his protestations of friendship managed to throw the settlers off their guard, has taken advantage of their confidence, burned their little village, and murdered them. It is most unfortunate, and deeply to be regretted, not only in view of the lives that have been sacrificed, but it will inevitably involve us in a war: and though there may not be much fighting, as Grando will most probably expect to shelter himself in the "bush," where he will hope to escape punishment, but the outrage cannot be allowed to pass; if so, similar occurrences will be constantly taking place. But the expense of getting up a military expedition, under the present state of our finances, will embarrass the Government very much.

I am extremely sorry that this settlement could not have been strengthened before this catastrophe.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

Subsequently, we received other letters, and a file of the Liberia Herald, fully confirming the report that had reached President Roberts, and giving all the particulars of the insurrectionary movement on the part of Grando and his allies. We had confidently hoped that the necessity would not again exist for the citizens of Liberia to take up arms against any of the native inhabitants; and yet we feared that Grando, notwithstanding his repeated ex-

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pressions and exhibitions of friendship and subordination, would treacherously betray the confidence and forbearance of the authorities of the Republic. The great desire on the part of the Government and people of Liberia to live on terms of peace and friendship with the natives, and to use every means in their power to promote civilization and Christianity among them, induced them to allow Grando and his people to remain in the vicinity of the new settlement near Bassa Cove. His subsequent conduct proved him to be altogether unworthy of confidence or clemency; neither of which, we presume, will be shown him in future; if he has not already (as it is probable) endured the severest penalty of the violated law.

It appears that the attack on the new settlement was only the beginning of the work of destruction, as it had been concerted by Grando and his native allies, the latter of whom had been seduced by him from their allegiance to the Liberian Government. Two attacks were made on the town of Bassa Cove, in both of which the assailants were repulsed, after a vigorous defence by the citizens of the town, two or three of whom were wounded. In reference to the last engagement, which was on the 15th November, ten days after the attack on the new settlement, Major S. A. Benson, in a letter to President Roberts, says:

"There seemed to be no end to their numbers, and they were as fearless of cannon as if they were pop-guns. After they fired the first volley, they made a rush, and when within about forty yards of the cannon, loaded and fired bravely, nor would they give an inch, for thirty minutes, until Tarplan, Grando's principal warrior, and in whom he placed more dependence than in any one hundred men, was shot down dead, within thirty yards of the cannon's mouth. When he fell, and his war-horn ceased, a general panic ensued; a few more rounds set them to flight. I have the fellow's head at my

farm, and intend to preserve his skull for examination only; for there must have been something extraordinary about the man. I never saw such quantities of blood, as was seen on examining the battle ground: from thirty yards from the cannon's mouth on the fort below the first pawn on the beach, the bushes and pathway are dyed with blood—in some places it stands in puddles. Both of the head warriors were killed, and three men were shot down dead in succession, in attempting to take off their bodies, during the heat of battle. I never before witnessed such bravery in the natives—their number, as I before said, seemed to have no end—they covered the ground from the first pawn, across to this side of the immigrant houses built on the hill. We do not think that the killed and wounded can be less than forty to fifty. We could distinctly hear the cry and wailing of the wounded at the distance of a quarter of a mile. We had only about sixty men in Bassa Cove during the engagement."

On the reception at Monrovia of the startling intelligence from Grand Bassa county, President Roberts immediately assembled his advisers to consult on the measures necessary to be pursued. The result of the consultation was, to dispatch men and munitions of war at once to Grand Bassa. The President himself, fearing another attack on Bassa Cove, before reinforcements could be ready to leave Monrovia, made application to Commander Pearson of the United States ship "Dale," then in the harbor, to take him to the scene of war; and represented to him that the presence of his ship in the harbor of Grand Bassa would very probably have a tendency to influence the natives from another attack before the arrival of the reinforcements. Commander Pearson kindly met the wishes of the President, and the next morning set sail for Grand Bassa, (distant about sixty miles.) On the same day, a company of seventy-five men properly armed and equipped, embarked for the same place on board the Liberian Government schooner "Lark."

The arrival of the President in the harbor of Grand Bassa in the United States ship Dale was very opportune. Grando and his allies had contemplated another attack on Bassa Cove; but the presence of the American man-of-war, with the President, and the reinforcements by the Lark, had the effect of deterring them from their course.

Up to the date of our advices, no further depredations had been committed by Grando and his allies. Indeed, from all accounts, it seemed that they had become convinced that they had had enough fighting.

The names of the persons massacred at the new settlement were Asbury Harland, Talbert Majors, Mrs. Mabry and her three children, Mrs. Briggs and her infant, and a boy named Charles, about 16 years old. During the battle on the 15th November, Wesley Harland was shot in the head, and fears were entertained as to his recovery. "J. M. Horace had a ball through his hat, which slightly touched his head, and knocked him down, but in a moment he was again on his feet, rallying his men." A few nights previous to this battle, the citizens of Bexley sallied out to one of the enemies' towns, and broke it up; during which, two men were slightly wounded. This seems to have been the extent of personal injury sustained by the Liberians in the several skirmishes with

the natives; several of whose towns were destroyed.

Under date of December 5th, Mr. Benson says, "The emigrants by the Zeno are not downcast at the difficulties they met on their arrival. They join right in with us and boast of their citizenship, and identify with us as strongly as any Liberian. They expressed a wish to go right down to the abandoned settlement and recommence, but prudence requires that we shall desist until the natives feel our chastisement." He adds, "We are not discouraged, for we view the whole affair as providential. I believe Providence is using means to establish us more than ever permanently and peacefully in our relations with the natives and foreigners."

While these belligerent movements were going on in Grand Bassa County, several native kings, chiefs, and headmen belonging to the Vey, Goulah, Condo, and Dey tribes were assembled at Monrovia, in obedience to the summons of the President; the object of the conference being the arrangement of difficulties—the settling of "palavers"—between these several tribes, and thereby putting an end to the petty wars which had for a long time existed among them. The Rev. A. F. Russell in a letter dated Monrovia, December 10th, says, "Our city is quite alive with native chiefs, headmen and gentlemen of the Vey, Goulah, Condo, and Dey tribes, with their warriors and captains of armed men, settling differences, making agreements, entering into arrangements, that they may be at peace, and may live in unity with our Government and a mongat themselves—appoint so desirable to all who love peace, and look for the coming kingdom of Immanuel."

Receipts of the American Colonization Society;

From the 20th January, to the 20th February, 1852.

MAINE.

Bath—Donation from the Bath
Col. Soc. by Freeman Clark,
Esq., Treasurer..... 120 00

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Capt. George Barker:—
Concord—Onalow Stearns..... 10 00
Legacy left the Am. Col. Soc.
by the late Thomas D. Merrill,
deceased; by Samuel Morrill,
Attorney of the Executrix.... 1,000 00
Chester—Mrs. Persis Bell..... 10 00

RHODE ISLAND.

By Capt. George Barker:—
Providence—Miss E. Waterman,

\$6; Moses B. Ives, \$20; Robert
H. Ives, \$25; H. N. Slater,
Cash, Mother and Daughter,
each \$15; Cash \$10; Cash, E.
W. Fletcher, Gilbert Congdon,
Mrs. S. A. Paine, Mrs. Sally
Thompson, Cash, J. H. Mas-
son, H. A. Rogers, Richard
Waterman, Joseph Rogers,
Paris Hill, William J. Cross,
Joseph Carpenter, L. P. Child,
Rufus Waterman, William
Field, H. A. Gardner, Miss
A. L. Harris, Thomas J.
Stead, H. S. Kendall, Henry
P. Knight, Cash, Josiah Sea-

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grave, jr., T. P. Shepard, W. W. Hoppin, Hon. Elisha Harris, each \$5; Mrs. Olive T. Clarke, Benj. White, Mrs. B. Aborn, each \$3; Miss Halsey, Thos. Phillips, Wm G. Angell, Prof. A. Caswell, each \$2; Miss P. Harris, Dea. Salisbury, Menzi Sweet, each \$1; A. C. Greene, Mr. Slocum, Mrs. Day, Orin A. Read, each 50 cents; Massa Bassett, \$4..... 262 00
Newport—Dinah Shannon..... 5 00

267 00

CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. John Orcutt:—
Windsor—Dr. Wm. S. Pierson, to constitute himself a life member of the Am. Col. Soc..... 30 00
Portsmouth—Rev. E. Lyman, E. Langdon, Mrs. Mary Landon, each \$5; H. Scovill, \$3; S. Hoadley, A. Shelton, each \$2; E. Johnson, Esq., T. Scott, Mrs. M. Hart, M. Smith, O. Smith, Dea. J. Wiard, S. Todd, each \$1; J. P. Bishop, 50 cts.; J. Griggs, L. Darrow, each 25 cents..... 30 00
Plymouth Hollow—Seth Thomas, \$20; S. Thomas, jr., \$5; G. W. Gilbert, \$2; Chas. H. Gilbert, Dea. W. P. Judson, M. Prince, A. E. Woodward, each \$1.... 31 00
Terryville—Wm. E. McKee, \$10; others \$3..... 13 00
Woodbury—R. C. Lawson, \$4; N. B. Smith, Strong, Bull & Co., N. and J. Parker, each \$2; T. Bull, Chas. B. Phelps, B. Curtiss, P. S. Bradley, G. P. Lewis, A friend, W. Cothren, Esq., Mrs. Anna Abernethy, each \$1; Cash 50 cents; A friend 71 cents..... 19 21
Bloomfield—Mrs. R. Palmer.... 3 00
New Canaan—Methodist Episcopal Church..... 2 50
Hartford—Hon. O. S. Seymour... 5 00

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NEW JERSEY.

New Brunswick—Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D..... 100 00

VIRGINIA.

Walnut Grove—Jane A. and C. L. Summers, annual contribution by Hon. Geo. W. Summers... 50 00
Big Lick—Mrs. Sarah Betts, annual subscription by C. L. Cocke, Esq..... 10 00

Richmond—Virginia Col. Soc., by Thos. H. Ellis, Esq., Treas... 775 00
Norfolk—Jas. D. Johnson, Wm. Ward, each \$5..... 10 00
Piedmont—Thos. Massi, M. D... 25 00

870 00

GEORGIA.

Macon—Rev. Mr. Branham, \$5; Rev. Mr. Hooker, \$2; by Geo. W. S. Hall..... 7 00
Augusta—R. Campbell, Esq..... 25 00

32 00

ALABAMA.

By Rev. John Morris Pease:—
Mobile—Alabama State Col. Soc.—W. J. Ledyard, Dr. W. H. Fleming, Sidney Smith, John Henry, ea. \$10; Wm. Stewart, R. A. Baker, James E. Saunders, Dr. L. Parmly, D. W. Goodman, Garner, Nevil & Co., Haviland, Clark & George, J. C. Du Bose, Moore & Lynes, Harrison & Robinson, Wm. Sayre, Eustes, Robinson & Co., Thomas Gordon, T. J. Fettyplace, M. F. Smith, Daniel Chandler, George Martin, S. Coley, each \$10; D. B. Crane, W. S. Stetson, James Patrick, R. D. Moffat, R. P. Howill, J. P. Irwin, Daniel Wheeler, J. F. McBride, Benj. Borden, G. Horton, Thomas Adams, J. Fuller, A. Allen, R. T. Dade, P. Brown, C. K. Foote, G. W. Tarleton, F. K. Fettyplace, C. B. Miller, W. L. Truwit, John Reid, B. Newhooze & Co., L. Mead, John Johnson, M. Treat, John Parker, W. C. Dickinson, James Sands & Co., John L. Weeks, O. Monzange, W. W. Allen, Charles Walsh, F. A. Robbins, Charles G. Barney, Clarence C. Malone, J. B. Toulmin, J. Y. Russel, T. P. Miller, Dodge & Sons, A. E. Ledyard, Mrs. Julia Dorsey, each \$5; H. L. Reynolds, \$4 85; W. H. Borden, J. W. Holmes, McMillan & Gascayne, S. O. Swallow, G. Rapelye, each \$2; Jas. Bruce, Warner Bailey, J. A. Hooper, Isaac Bryan, W. B. Harwood, Mrs. A. Walker, Mrs. W. Garrow, Mrs. Smelt, Mrs. P. Hamilton, E. C. Johnson, Mrs. Dr. Parmly, each \$1; Collection in 2d Pres. Church, \$16 97;

Colored Missionary Society of the Meth. Epis. Church, to educate a native boy in Liberia, to be named Hamilton Milburn, \$30; from the "Mobile Emigration Society," \$10.....	547 82
Greensborough—Dr. J. K. Witherspoon.....	10 00
Selma—R. N. Philpot.....	5 00
Montpelier—B. Campbell.....	5 00
Camden—Dr. A. C. Matherson, Rev. Mr. McRae, each \$5....	10 00
Prairie Bluff—A. M. Creagh....	100 00
Havanna—Prof. H. Tutwiler....	100 00

777 82

KENTUCKY.

Danville—Balance of a legacy left to the Am. Col. Soc. by the late Capt. Jesse Smith, by J. A. Jacobs, Esq.....	30 00
Shelbyville—Part of a residuary legacy left to the Am. Col. Soc. by the late Rev. A. A. Shannon, by James D. Miller, Exr.....	200 00

230 00

TENNESSEE.

Blountville—Samuel Rhea, Esq., to constitute his son Charles Stoddard Rhea, a life member of the Am. Col. Soc.....	30 00
Bersheba Springs—Wm. White, Esq.....	10 00

40 00

OHIO.

Xenia—From the Female Colonization Society of Xenia and vicinity, in part to constitute Mrs. Martha Galloway a life member of the Am. Col. Soc., by James Gowdy, Esq.....	12 70
Middlebury—H. G. Weaver, annual contribution.....	5 00
Strengsville—Rev. Henry Lyon....	5 00

22 70

ILLINOIS.

Princeton—From a lady in Princeton, by Rev. A. B. Church....	2 00
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Total Contributions.....\$2,385 23

FOR REPOSITORY.

MAINE.—Bath—Freeman Clark, Esq., for 1851.....	1 00
NEW HAMPSHIRE.—By Captain George Barker :—Pembroke—Rev. Abraham Burnham, to	

Jan. 1854, \$2. Wentworth—Rev. J. S. Davis, for 1852, \$1.	3 00
VERMONT.—Burlington—Zadock Thompson, for 1852.....	1 00
MASSACHUSETTS.—Worcester—J. C. Morse, Stephen Sawyer, Presly Goddard, each \$1, to May, 1852, by Stephen Tracy, M. D., \$3. Richmond—Levi Beebe, for 1852, \$1.....	4 00
RHODE ISLAND.—By Capt. Geo. Barker :—Providence—R. J. Arnold, Stephen Arnold, Benj. White, Wm. Whitaker, Resolved Waterman, Caleb C. Cook, Chas. Dyer, Mrs. Elisha Dyer, Abner Gay, Jr., John R. Burroughs, Thos. Eddy, Wm. Andrews, Wm. A. Robinson, Hon. Thos. Burgess, each \$1, to Jan., 1853; Royal Chapin, to Jan., 1855, \$3; S. N. Richmond, to January, 1854, \$2; Edward Seagrave, Mrs. Jas. B. Read, each \$5, to Jan., 1857.....	29 00
PENNSYLVANIA.—Carlisle—James Hamilton, for 1852.....	1 00
MARYLAND.—Baltimore—Rev. R. C. Galbraith, for '50 and '51....	2 00
VIRGINIA.—Mount Solon—Mrs. Margaret McCue, to Jan., '51.	5 00
NORTH CAROLINA.—White Hall—J. B. Watt, to Jan., 1854.....	4 00
GEORGIA.—Savannah—John B. Mallard, to 1st of May, '55, by Geo. W. S. Hall, \$5; Eliza Sanchez, for '52, \$1. Augusta—J. F. Turpin, Esq., for 52, \$3; Dennis Alexander, \$7, for 52.....	16 00
ALABAMA.—Montgomery—Peter Mills, J. A. Craigs, each \$1, for 1852.....	2 00
FLORIDA.—Tampa Bay—James Rowe, for 1850 and 1851.....	2 00
OHIO.—Xenia—Rev. J. C. McMillan, John Vaneaton, Alexander Wier, each \$1, for 1852, \$3. Kenton—Robert Moodie, for 1852, \$1.....	4 00
ILLINOIS.—Hartford—John Crawford, for 1850 and 1851.....	2 00
MICHIGAN.—Livonia Centre—David Cudworth, for 1852.....	1 00
ARKANSAS.—Eagle Town—D. Winship, for 1852.....	1 00

Total Repository..... 78 00

Total Contributions..... 2,385 23

Total Legacies..... 1,290 00

Aggregate Amount.....\$3,693 22